

Program	Fiscal 1972 spend- ing (bil- lions)	Cut below level (per- cent)	Held at level (per- cent)	Increase level (per- cent)
1. National defense	76.0	57.0	36.0	7.0
2. Foreign aid	4.1	81.6	16.4	2.0
3. Space	3.3	57.4	34.6	8.0
4. Farm	9.6	39.0	47.8	13.2
5. Public works	2.3	14.2	54.7	31.1
6. Housing and urban develop- ment	3.7	16.7	38.1	45.2
7. Education	5.2	13.2	46.4	40.4
8. Health	3.1	5.0	40.1	54.9
9. Social security	4.3	5.0	43.0	52.0
10. Welfare	11.4	48.4	35.2	16.4
11. Veterans	10.7	9.0	59.4	-31.6

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time fixed for the transaction of routine morning business has expired.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 10880) to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide improved medical care to veterans; to provide hospital and medical care to certain dependents and survivors of veterans; to improve recruitment and retention of career personnel in the Department of Medicine and Surgery, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

MILITARY PROCUREMENT AUTHORIZATIONS, 1972

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which the clerk will state.

The second assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 8687) to authorize appropriations during the fiscal year 1972 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, naval vessels, tracked combat vehicles, torpedoes, and other weapons, and research, development, test, and evaluation for the Armed Forces and to prescribe the authorized personnel strength of the Selected Reserve of each Reserve component of the Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

AMENDMENT NO. 433

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The pending question is on the amendment of the Senator from Alaska (Mr. GRAVEL). There is a time limitation of 2 hours on the amendment.

Without objection, the text of the pending amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 433) is as follows:

TITLE VI—CESSATION OF BOMBING IN INDOCHINA

Sac. 601. (a) No funds authorized or appropriated under this or any other law may be expended after the date of enactment of this Act to bomb, rocket, napalm, or otherwise attack by air, any target whatsoever within the Kingdom of Cambodia, the Kingdom of Thailand, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Kingdom of Laos.

(b) No funds authorized or appropriated under this or any other law may be expended

after the date of enactment of this Act to bomb, rocket, napalm, or otherwise attack by air, any target whatsoever within the Republic of Vietnam unless the President determines any such air operation to be necessary to provide for the safety of United States Armed Forces during their withdrawal from Indochina.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum. I ask unanimous consent that the time be equally charged against both sides.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The second assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Who yields time?

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, I yield myself 10 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, while we deliberate today in this Chamber American planes will ease into the sky over Southeast Asia. They will drop tons of explosives, guided to the flesh of human beings by the most elaborate and impersonal technology.

Hovering over Laotian rice fields, the A-119 Stinger gunship can put a piece of shrapnel into every square foot of an area the size of a football field.

On the ground are 3 million Laotians, the heaviest bombed people in the history of warfare. They will huddle in their caves and field trenches, and some will die. Many will not see the sun for months, fear keeping them in their covered bunkers during daylight hours.

In the name of America the planes come.

Over the past 10 years 700,000 Laotians have been made refugees, tens of thousands have been killed or wounded, and hundreds of thousands forced to live much of the time in caves and trenches.

The bombing raids also come in the name of the U.S. Senate, until we legislate otherwise.

The war is not winding down for the peoples of Indochina. Since the much heralded bombing halt over North Vietnam, the planes have not come home. They have simply shifted their targets into Laos and Cambodia.

The bombing has continued at 100 tons an hour, 2,400 tons a day. The rate of civilian casualties and refugee generation, indicative of the overall level of violence, has if anything increased during the last 2 years.

Recent hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees reveal that since the invasion of Cambodia nearly one quarter of that country's population—1,500,000 people—have become refugees. In the last few months in South Vietnam more refugees have been created than at any time since the 1968 Tet offensive.

The bombing of North Vietnam has been resumed. As recently as September 21 an armada of 250 U.S. planes attacked targets in the North, and this raid was followed on successive days by two more

so-called protective reaction strikes. At present the bombing of North Vietnam has reached an average rate of once every 4 days, and according to North Vietnamese reports 106 villages in addition to missile sites have been struck. The Meatgrinder in Vietnam, which has taken 325,000 civilian lives and wounded more than a million since 1965, is still whirling. As the South Vietnamese Minister of Information commented in 1968, South Vietnam has been devastated by an alien air force that seems at war with the very land of Vietnam.

The amendment I offer is quite straightforward. Let us stop the bombing, not just partially over North Vietnam but in all Indochina—except for those strikes inside South Vietnam demonstrably related to the security of our withdrawing troops. Is it really the desire of the Senate to continue to send out those planes?

An Orwellian transformation is taking place in our military policy in Indochina. Due to public pressure American boys are slowly coming home, but they are leaving an automated war behind. There is every danger, as Noam Chomsky has warned, that we intend to turn the land of Vietnam into an automated murder machine. Computer technology and a small number of troops manning aircraft and artillery are creating a U.S. destructive presence that may literally hover over Southeast Asia for years to come. In the midst of this the public is confused, pacified by the diminishing troop levels, yet vaguely troubled by continuing reports of devastation.

Eluding recognition, hidden in the techno-euphemisms of military speech, is the reality of our policy. "Selective ordnance"—a rather dull and technical sounding term until one realizes it masks the use of napalm against human beings. "Harrassment and interdiction"—a rather light-hearted term until one understands that it represents the random hurling of destruction into jungle areas.

These antiseptic words obfuscate horror-filled realities, and thereby circumvent public judgment. "Surgical air strike"—one pictures a diseased cancer benevolently removed from the countryside. But the cancer is the peasantry. In World War II the cancer was the Jews, and the operation was the "final solution." In the name of America, how many executions are taking place from the air in Indochina.

It is the enormity of our mistake that clouds it. If we were wrong, how wrong we were. Nothing will bring back those who have died, or the lost arms and legs, eyes and ears. But let us commit ourselves at least to stop the bombing of those who remain.

How the people of this country, a good people, industrious people and generous people, could have come to visit such destruction on another nation is difficult to comprehend. Orwell in his masterpiece "1984" depicts such carnage as the result of technology gone mad, removed from common experience, giving reality to surrealistic nightmares. We may have intervened in Indochina for commendable reasons—even that is questionable—but at some time the machine got out of control and we could not turn it off.